Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 3 of 19 sections

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
BALTIMORE	ATLANTA	2/23/68	1/29 - 2/21/68

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted] TYPED BY: jtk

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - SNCC

REFERENCES:

100-439190-1698X

Bureau airtel to Albany dated 1/31/68.
Bureau airtel to Baltimore dated 1/23/68.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

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[redacted]

A
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100-439190-3-16X2

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED: SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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1146 REC-44

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Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, NIS, OSI, SEC. SERV.,		
Request Recd.	DEPT: ISD, CRD,		
Date Fwd.	HOW FORW:		
How Fwd.	DATE FORW:		
By	BY:		

Notations: RACIAL INT. SECT.

BA 100-23331

[redacted]

INFORMANTS:

Identity	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	Characterization of ROBERT B. MOORE
[redacted]	100-23331-192 and 195
[redacted]	100-23331-201
[redacted]	100-23331-216

B
COVER PAGE

BA 100-23331

LEADS:

BALTIMORE DIVISION

AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Will continue to follow the activity of SNCC.

C*
COVER PAGE

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to: 4 - 109th MI GP, Baltimore (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - NISO, Baltimore (REGISTERED MAIL)
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Report of: SA [redacted] Office: BALTIMORE
Date: February 23, 1968

Field Office File #: BA 100-23331 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY -
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: [redacted]

- P* -

DETAILS:

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

A. Headquarters

[redacted]

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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BA 100-23331

[redacted]

Robert Barber Moore

ROBERT BARBER MOORE is a Negro male who was born at Baltimore, Maryland, October 16, 1944. [redacted] MOORE has been arrested several times in Maryland between 1963 and the present in connection with civil rights demonstrations. In 1965, [redacted] on a number of occasions identified MOORE as a staff member of the Union for Jobs or Income Now (U-JOIN). [redacted] in 1965 on a number of occasions furnished information reflecting that MOORE was active in the Baltimore Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

U-JOIN is the Baltimore community action arm of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Characterizations of SDS and the Baltimore Committee to End the War in Vietnam are appended hereto.

MOORE was arrested in Atlanta, Georgia on August 18, 1966 while participating in a demonstration at the United States Armed Forces Induction Center along with several other members of SNCC. [redacted] advised that in March, 1967, ROBERT MOORE was in training in the Research Department at SNCC headquarters, Atlanta, Georgia.

BA 100-23331

B. Officers

[redacted]

Baltimore, Md

WALTER LIVELY is a militant Negro civil rights leader who has been active in Baltimore for several years who was recently an unsuccessful candidate for the republican nomination to the Baltimore City Council and he has been identified publicly as Director and Organizer of U-JOIN.

[redacted]

C. Objectives

[redacted]

BA 100-23331

[redacted]

On January 6, 1968 [redacted] advised that SNCC intends to set up training schools in the Baltimore area similar to those that they have held in Nashville, Tennessee and Washington, D. C. These schools will, in all probability, concentrate on instruction concerning political matters, Negro history and self defense. The organization will also concentrate in putting forth a Negro candidate for political office and it is anticipated that WALTER LIVELY will probably be the principal candidate backed by SNCC. It is anticipated that SNCC's major political activities will be concentrated in the Second District of Baltimore City for the time being.

The Sun, a Baltimore daily newspaper, on February 8, 1968, carried a story under the by-line of STEPHEN J. LYNTON which stated that ROBERT B. MOORE, head of the Baltimore Office of SNCC, said that campaigns against crime in the streets of President JOHNSON and Mayor D'ALESANDRO of Baltimore mean "War on the black community." He charged that the Baltimore City Police Department is used to "Stifle the legitimate grievances" of the poor and stated "What's needed is community control of the police department by civilians. Black people should have a voice." He went on to characterize the police as the enemy of the black community and said if Mayor D'ALESANDRO is really concerned about crime they would create money that would filter down to the black community. He criticized the anti-poverty program and characterized the war on poverty as a "Token suggestion and a deception." He added, however, that it hasn't deceived many people and that the situation

in the community is little different than it was four years ago.

On January 18, 1968, [redacted] made available [redacted] report dated January 12, 1968 concerning a "Black power teach-in" which was held at Goucher College on that date. Among the speakers were ROBERT B. MOORE and JAN BAILEY. In his speech, MOORE stated that the United States does not love black people and now the black people are concerned with their own self-preservation. He said that the white people must analyse this country and find out what the problem is now. He concluded his talk by saying that trouble will erupt in Baltimore, Washington and New York.

JAN BAILEY followed Mr. MOORE as a speaker. BAILEY's first statement was "It is going to be a long hot summer." He then held up a match and stated "This is black power." He said that he will ask black soldiers to drop their rifles and return home from the war. He said that SNCC is teaching their young men to be strong, dedicated and disciplined, and in turn, to disrupt, dislocate and destroy the white man because he is our enemy. He said that if a white man touches you "Wipe him out." He said that Negroes should take care of the "honkies" wholly and completely. He said when the black men return from Vietnam we will start because we have no alternative but to use blood, horror and terror to gain our demands.

II. ACTIVITIES

[redacted]

[redacted]

On January 18, 1968, [redacted] advised that he had received information that some person from Washington, D. C. has been visiting Baltimore and holding meetings at the Baltimore City Community Action Agency Neighborhood Center, 2013 Ashland Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. It appears that the purpose of these meetings is to organize teenagers in the area into a youth club. [redacted] made available literature which was distributed at these meetings. The literature was issued by SNCC and more fully described later in this report.

[redacted]

[redacted] concerning the Panther organization that this is apparently a recently organized group in the Baltimore area consisting of youths who are being advised by SELINA STEWART, a SNCC member who resides at [redacted]

The Activists, Inc. is a civil rights group formerly known as the Activists for Fair Housing. The members of this group are former members of Baltimore CORE who left CORE when the direction of that organization was taken over by staff members from the national office who formed the Baltimore Target City Project. INCITE is a small neighborhood organization from the predominantly Negro Cherry Hill section of Baltimore. Source had no information concerning the Afro-Asian Art School or LESTER VALLEY.

III. FINANCES

The Sun, a Baltimore daily newspaper, on February 8, 1968 in the story concerning the interview with ROBERT B. MOORE, reflected that MOORE described the chief sources of SNCC funds in the Baltimore area as coming from contributions and sale of literature.

IV. PUBLICATIONS

On January 18, 1968, [redacted] made available literature which was distributed to teenagers who attend meetings at the Baltimore City Community Action Agency Neighborhood Center, 2013 Ashland Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. This literature is as follows:

1. A small blue pamphlet in English and Spanish captioned "Who are the real outlaws." It is a statement by H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman of SNCC.

2. A pamphlet with a drawing of "Uncle Sam" captioned "Uncle Sam wants you Nigger." On the back of the pamphlet there is a statement which says "For help in avoiding the draft (legally) or for further information call Washington SNCC - 387-7445, 1234 U Street, N.W."

3. A mimeographed pamphlet with a drawing of H. RAP BROWN captioned "It's Beautiful to be Black - Black is Beautiful." This pamphlet is stamped at the bottom "Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 107 Rhode Island, N.W., WDC 20001, 387-7445."

V. MISCELLANEOUS

The Evening Sun, a Baltimore daily newspaper on February 8, 1968 contained a story under the by-line of GEORGE ROGERS, date-lined Annapolis, which reflected that State Senator CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, III, a Negro, made an emotional speech on the floor of the State Senate, directed

against ROBERT B. MOORE of SNCC denouncing him for his published statement that the police are the enemy of the black community. The article reflects that Senator MITCHELL declared "I happen to be a part of that black community and I do not see efforts to curb crime as war on it." He said that MOORE is no spokesman for Baltimore Negroes and said "These voices of irresponsibility preach the same kind of hatred and bigotry that we have fought on the other side for so long." Senator MITCHELL further declared "There comes a time when people of responsibility should answer those of irresponsibility. To remain silent is to become party to what those people do."

The Evening Sun, on February 12, 1968, contained the story reflecting that Mrs. JUANITA JACKSON MITCHELL, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in Maryland, attacked SNCC members as "Merchants of hate and violence." She said that SNCC leaders are spouting "A red Chinese Communist line" with their calls for black power. The story reflected that at the NAACP Annual Brotherhood Conference, Mrs. MITCHELL warned the audience that SNCC [illegible]nger a student group and no longer non-violent.

BALTIMORE COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

On November 8, 1965, a source advised that the Baltimore Committee to End the War in Vietnam (BCEWV) was organized in Baltimore, Maryland, and that it is affiliated with the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam located in Madison, Wisconsin.

The source also advised, on the same date, that Herman M. Heyn, 5509 Bosworth Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland, stated at that time that he was solely responsible for the organization, and that he, Heyn, had formed the BCEWV in order to protest the United States intervention in Vietnam.

On April 14, 1966, the same source advised that the BCEWV is under the domination and control of the "Spartacist Group" at Baltimore, Maryland. The same source also advised that A. Robert Kaufman is head of, and a member of, the Baltimore, Maryland Spartacist Group and has considerable influence in the committee.

There is no specific headquarters for the BCEWV. Business meetings are held in the homes of members. There is no formal membership.

The first source advised on November 1, 1967, and a second source on October 23, 1967, that the BCEWV has not held a meeting or sponsored an affair since November, 1966, and is defunct.

A source, on October 13, 1965, advised that he knew Herman Heyn to have been a Vice-President of the New Era Book Shop, Baltimore, Maryland, in 1964, and a subscriber to "The Worker."

"The Worker" is an East Coast communist newspaper.

NEW ERA BOOK SHOP, INCORPORATED

On September 19, 1962, a source advised that the New Era Book Shop, Incorporated, 101 West 22nd Street, Baltimore, Maryland, was organized by the Communist Party, Maryland - D. C. District, on July 30, 1962, with the sanction and financial backing of the Communist Party, USA. Its purpose is to sell communist literature and serve as a place where new Communist Party members might be recruited. The Book Shop is completely controlled and dominated by the Communist Party, USA.

On May 22, 1967, a second source advised that since June, 1963, the New Era Book Shop, Incorporated, has been located at 408 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. It continues to be operated under the complete control and domination of the Communist Party, USA. ROBERT LEE, Communist Party member, is managing the Book Shop.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE (SL) Formerly Known as the REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

A source advised on September 9, 1964, the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International (RCFI) was also known as the Spartacist Committee and the Spartacist Group. The source described the RCFI as being composed of former members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who were led by James Robertson.

A second source advised on March 4, 1964, that Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the SWP, sent a letter to all SWP branches in February, 1964, in which he advised that James Robertson announced on February 10, 1964, that his faction would publicly criticize the SWP and had followed this with a public organ called "Spartacist" in which they attacked the SWP.

A third source advised on September 7, 1966, that the RCFI held a Founders' Conference of the Spartacist League (SL) at Chicago, Illinois, from September 3-5, 1966. On September 4, 1966, it was stated that the objective of the [redacted] destroy the capitalist [redacted] ist society and create a workers' class [redacted] ers' class society.

The May-June, 1967, issue of "Spartacist" discloses it is published by the Central Committee of the Spartacist League.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

CONFIDENTIAL

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "Responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-323 (Rev. 11-20-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Baltimore, Maryland

February 23, 1968

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference: Report of SA [redacted] at Baltimore dated February 23, 1968.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
BALTIMORE	ATLANTA	5/24/68	5/9-24/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE	SA [redacted]	cls
	CHARACTER OF CASE	
	IS - SNCC	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [redacted] dated 2/23/68 at Baltimore.

-P*-

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

Copies of this report are being furnished locally to the 109th MI GP, NISO, OSI, Baltimore. A copy of the report is being furnished to WFO for information in view of the fact that there is close [illegible] between the Washington, D. C. and Baltimore offi[illegible]CC. The report also contains information conc[illegible] of the individuals associated with SNCC in Wa[illegible]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED:

None

A
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Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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1 - Atlanta (100-6488) (REGIS. MAIL)
1 - WFO (Info) (100-41626) (REGIS. MAIL)
1 - Baltimore (100-23331)

[illegible] 190-3-21

4 MAY 28 1968

REC- 44

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	[illegible]			
Request Recd.	[illegible]	NIS, OSI, [illegible]		
Date Fwd.	[illegible]			
How Fwd.	[illegible]			
By	[illegible]	1958		

Notations

BA 100-23331

The information attributed to [redacted] was furnished confidentially and cannot be made public [redacted]

INFORMANTS:

Identity	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	Instant report
[redacted]	100-23331-216,276,277,281
[redacted]	100-23331-276,277
[redacted]	[redacted]

LEADS:

BALTIMORE DIVISION

AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Will continue to follow and report the activities of SNCC.

B*
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

4 - 109th MI GP, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - NISO, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - OSI, Baltimore (Registered Mail)

Copy to:

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
Date: MAY 24, 1968

Field Office File #: 100-23331 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: The Baltimore office of SNCC is located at 432 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. ROBERT MOORE is director and BETTYJEAN MURPHY is treasurer. Information concerning individuals associated with SNCC set out. Activities of SNCC in connection with organizing of individuals and groups within the Negro community at Baltimore set forth. Informants report that in March 1968 the Baltimore office of SNCC was not receiving any subsistence from National SNCC. [redacted]

-P*- OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is appended hereto.

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

A. Headquarters

The Headquarters of SNCC in Baltimore, Maryland, is located at 432 East North Avenue.

[redacted] on May 21, 1968)

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BA 100-23331
FJW:cls/na

B. Officers and Staff

[redacted]

[redacted] OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION on May 20, [redacted])

A source advised that SHEILA LEWIS, LOIS WI[illegible]Y, SELENE STEWART, and ANGEL MOSS do most of the work at the Baltimore Office of SNCC; and in the opinion of the informant, they should be considered staff members of SNCC in Baltimore. ANGEL MOSS appears to be regularly employed by SNCC.

([redacted] SUBJECT ORGANIZATION on various dates between March 13 and May 21, 1968)

DORIS WILSON, who lives in Baltimore, is an SNCC field representative on the national level.

([redacted] SUBJECT ORGANIZATION on March 29, 1968)

II. ACTIVITIES:

The Sun, a newspaper published daily at Baltimore, Maryland, on March 5, 1968, contained a story datelined March 4, 1968, at Cambridge, Maryland, which was captioned "Negro Militants Visit Cambridge." The article stated "For the last two Saturdays a group of Negro militants from Baltimore has come to Cambridge for strategy meetings on 'the coming spring offensive'--a proposed continuation of the civil disturbances which have plagued Cambridge since 1963." The story went on to say that Baltimore militants are from the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), SNCC, the Civic Interest Group (CIG), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). It said that they met in Cambridge behind closed doors with the Cambridge Black Action Federation (CBAF). They declined to discuss what went on

in the meetings which lasted for three or four hours each time, but they issued copies of a mimeographed "Free Black Press" calling for boycotts of white merchants and detailing what they feel are the unjustices committed against the Negroes of Cambridge's second ward.

CORE and SCLC are nationally known civil rights organizations, both of which presently have offices in Baltimore. The CIG is a local Baltimore civil rights group which operates principally on the west side of Baltimore and has a limited membership. The CBAF is the local militant Negro organization in Cambridge, Maryland.

[redacted]

[redacted] on March 13, 1968)

On March 12, 1968, a meeting was held at the Baltimore Office of SNCC. More than twenty persons were present many of whom were students from Morgan State College (MSC), Baltimore, Maryland, a predominantly Negro institution. They were trying to get organized to conduct some sort of demonstrations. Several persons were elected as officers of the newly formed organization. They were as follows:

JACKIE GILES, President

FRED MASON, Vice President

JOHN CLARK, Treasurer

GLORIA WILDER, Secretary.

Other persons known to be present were individuals named MICHAEL GREEN, JAN BAILEY, BILLY WILLIAMS, DAVID MARTIN, and SAMUEL DAVIS. One student, who was called "BUTCH," argued about JACKIE GILES being elected president. He was described as a "very hot-headed young man." The meeting

lasted from approximately 9:20 p.m. until 11:05 p.m. BOB MOORE left before the meeting started and SHEILA LEWIS also did not attend the meeting. At the conclusion of the meeting it was stated that they would meet on the following Tuesday.

[redacted] on March 13, 1968)

[redacted]

[redacted] on March 14, 1968)

[redacted]

[redacted] on March 14, 1968)

On March 14, 1968, a small group of women met at SNCC Headquarters, and some of the Morgan students again met at SNCC Headquarters.

[redacted] on March 18, 1968)

The SAAS will meet in Holmes Hall at MSC at 8:30 p.m. on March 21, 1968.

[redacted] on March 20, 1968)

Beginning at about 1:00 p.m., March 20, 1968, DANIEL GANT, Director of the CORE Target City Project; WALTER LIVELY, Executive Director of the Urban Coalition and a former organizer for the Union for Jobs or Income Now (U-JOIN); ROBERT MOORE of SNCC; and JAN BAILEY of SNCC, Washington, D. C., used a room in the Student Union Building at MSC to speak to students. Their talks lasted until approximately 4:00 p.m. and dealt with events that had occurred on a college campus at Orangeburg, South Carolina, during a riot at that institution. The talks also dealt with the necessity for more courses at MSC dealing with Negro culture and history. After leaving the MSC campus the same group went to Coppin State College, Baltimore, Maryland, and spoke for approximately an hour on the same topics. Coppin State College is also a predominantly Negro college.

[redacted] on March 21, 1968)

During the afternoon hours on March 21, 1968, approximately 200 students conducted a demonstration at MSC in support of Howard University students who were then on strike in Washington, D. C. The president of MSC met with the students and cancelled all classes for March 22, 1968.

[redacted] on March 21, 1968)

The demonstration at MSC was led by members of the newly formed SAAS.

[redacted] on March 21, 1968)

On the evening of March 21, 1968, a meeting attended by approximately 400 MSC students was held in Room 100, Holmes Hall, MSC, from approximately 8:30 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. This meeting was not sanctioned or approved by the school administration. No faculty or press were permitted to attend the meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to draw up demands to be made on the MSC administration.

[redacted] on March 21, 1968)

On March 22, 1968, Dr. MARTIN JENKINS, president of MSC, attended a scheduled meeting of faculty and students on the MSC campus during the afternoon hours. At this meeting a list of grievances was presented to the administration.

[redacted] on March 22, 1968)

At the meeting at MSC on March 22, 1968, members of the SAAS barred the door of the meeting and would not permit news men to enter despite the fact that the president of MSC had invited news men to be present.

(Baltimore Evening Sun, March 22, 1968)

On March 28, 1968, a meeting of the Human Rights Club was held at Coppin State College, Baltimore, Maryland, between 7:30 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. Approximately 52 persons attended this meeting which dealt with opposition to the Selective Service draft. JAN BAILEY of SNCC, Washington, D. C., was at this meeting. BAILEY is said to belong to a black anti-draft union, and he will organize six groups at various colleges in this general area of the country.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION Wash. [redacted] on March 29, 1968)

Approximately 200 students met in Room 100, Holmes Hall, MSC, on the evening of March 28, 1968. Some of them were heard to speak of burning the school down because of inferior building and inadequate facilities. The hard core of the meeting consisted of about 20 students who are members of the newly organized SAAS. JAN BAILEY of Washington

SNCC also attended this meeting, and he suggested that students take over the Administration Building and telephone switchboard and shut down the school completely. The meeting did not end until sometime after midnight. BAILEY's suggestion was given to a committee of 12 to decide what action should be taken.

[redacted] on March 29, 1968)

On March 30, 1968, ROBERT MOORE, Baltimore Director of SNCC, filled a speaking engagement at Delaware State College as a substitute for CLEVELAND SELLERS of SNCC, who was originally scheduled to speak. MOORE gave a talk on the meaning of SNCC and how SNCC activities should be organized. He is believed to have received $150 for this speech.

OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[redacted] on April 2, 1968)

[redacted]

[redacted] on April 6, 1968)

[redacted] Sometime around 4:30 to 5:00 p.m. on April 6, 1968, civil disturbances broke out in Baltimore on the near east side. These disturbances continued through April 11, 1968, and resulted in the subsequent mobilization of the State Police, Maryland National Guard, and Federal troops).

[redacted]

[redacted] on April 11, 1968)

SELENE STEWART has also organized and tutors a group of about 25 young boys called the Panthers. An informant has heard that JAN BAILEY and LESTER MC KINNIE, both of the Washington office of SNCC, had worked with this group called the Panthers about one time a week during the months of January and February 1968. [redacted]

[redacted] on April 11, 1968)

ROBERT MOORE, Director of Baltimore SNCC, and LORIS WILSON attended the First National Conference of the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union held at the Diplomat Hotel, 108 West 43rd Street, New York, New York, April 12-14, 1968. JAN BAILEY of Washington and BOB MOORE were designated as regional chairmen for Baltimore and other areas. STOKELY CARMICHAEL gave a fiery speech on April 12, 1968, in which among other things he said that "we" should destroy everything American.

[redacted] on April 16, 1968)

On May 14, 1968, a panel discussion was held at the Grace Methodist Church, Baltimore, Maryland. The topic of the discussion was "Tell It Like It Is In Baltimore." Included as members of the panel were ROBERT MOORE and CLARENCE DAVIS. In his statement, MOORE said that America is built on genocide of the Indian and black slave labor. He said that present day rebellions are the result of 400 years of oppression and racism in America. America moves ever closer to committing genocide on black Americans. American society represents institutionalized racism. School systems are run by white people, Negro housing is substandard, and police departments employ people who brutally attack black people. He said that although there are more police in black neighborhoods, they do not stop crimes against black people.

The remarks of CLARENCE DAVIS followed the same pattern as those of MOORE concerning genocide and institutionalized racism. DAVIS said that he belongs to several groups at MSC and most of his friends think as he does--that there are no good white folks except maybe in the graveyard. He closed his remarks by saying "You call yourselves liberals. It's all right for you to consider yourselves liberal about my freedom, but I'm a fanatic about it."

[redacted] on May 16, 1968)

III. FINANCES

The SNCC organization in Baltimore is in such poor financial shape that they are selling SCLC informational posters for $2 apiece to raise money. [redacted]

[redacted] on March 27, 1968)

[redacted]

[redacted] on May 20, 1968)

IV. PUBLICATIONS

Some pamphlets handed out at the Baltimore office of SNCC are as follows:

One is a mimeographed sheet captioned "A Letter From Prison From H. RAP BROWN." It is purportedly dated at the Parish Prison, New Orleans, Louisiana, February 21, 1968, which urges black people to fight for liberation. One sentence states "May the deaths of '68 signal the beginning of the end of this country." The last paragraph

states in effect, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you...then here is my life."

The second pamphlet is one captioned "An Act Beyond Murder." This pamphlet tells that in South Africa on March 21, 1960, about 3,000 blacks who were demonstrating were fired on and 85 black people were killed. Hundreds of others were shot. The pamphlet then goes on to liken incidents which occurred at Orangeburg, South Carolina, and in Mississippi, Alabama, and Washington, D. C., to the incident which occurred in South Africa. The pamphlet urges people to attend the rally at Howard University on March 21, 1968, for a march and demonstration to the South African Embassy.

A third piece of literature was a petition to Governor SPIRO T. AGNEW, Annapolis, Maryland, which demands that the Governor take immediate steps to correct the mistake the state made in "hastily and unjustly bringing charges of inciting to riot and arson against H. RAP BROWN."

[redacted] on March 21, 1968)

V. MISCELLANEOUS

LOUIS PRICE, who has been associated with SNCC in Baltimore, is charged by the Baltimore City Police for inciting to riot; and he is still in jail following the civil disorders that took place in Baltimore, April 6-11, 1968, after the death of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. There was some talk of SNCC organizing a demonstration during the trial of PRICE.

[redacted] on April 25, 1968)

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Baltimore, Maryland

May 24, 1968

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference: Baltimore report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
BALTIMORE	ATLANTA	8/28/68	8/21-28/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE	SA [redacted]	jme
	CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - SNCC	

REFERENCES:

Baltimore report of SA [redacted] 5/24/68.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

Copies of this report are being furnished locally to the 109th MI Group, NISO, and OSI, Baltimore. Copy is also being furnished to WFO for information in view of the fact that there is close contact between the Baltimore and Washington, D. C., offices of SNCC.

A
COVER PAGE

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

SEE COVER PAGE B

2 - Baltimore (100-23331)

REC 37

SEP. 3 1968

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency	FBI	OSI	SS	
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

Notations

61 SEP 11 1968

RACIAL MATTERS

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1967 O—270-077

BA 100-23331

9 - Bureau (100-439190) (Registered Mail)
4 - 109th MI Group, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - NISO, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - OSI, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - Atlanta (100-6488) (Registered Mail)
1 - WFO (info) (Registered Mail)
2 - Baltimore

This report is classified confidential since unauthorized disclosure of information furnished by [redacted] and [redacted] could result in the compromise of sources of continuing value and reduce their future effectiveness.

INFORMANTS:

Informants	Location
[redacted]	Instant Report
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-23331, 394, and 395
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-23331-348, 374, and 389
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-23331-383-384
[redacted]	[redacted]

B
COVER PAGE

BA 100-23331

[redacted]

100-23331-434 and 435

LEADS:

BALTIMORE DIVISION

AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Will continue to follow and report the activities of SNCC.

C*
COVER PAGE

FD-4 (Rev. 2-3-59)

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
(1) - OSI, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
4 - 109th MI Group, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - NISC, Baltimore (Registered Mail)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: BALTIMORE
Date: August 28, 1968

Field Office File #: 100-23331 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: ROBERT MOORE continues as Director of the Baltimore Office of SNCC located at 432 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. Informants have furnished information reflecting that MOORE has had close association with the Soul School at Baltimore, Maryland, and has indicated an intention of opening up black book stores and liberation schools in the Baltimore area; however, these plans have not been put into effect. [redacted] Literature distributed by SNCC or under the SNCC name attached.

- P* -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is appended hereto.

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

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★ U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1967—O—272-578

A. Headquarters

The Headquarters of SNCC in Baltimore, Maryland, is still located at 432 East North Avenue.

[redacted] on February 26, 1968)

B. Staff

ROBERT BARBER MOORE continues to be the Director of SNCC in Baltimore.

[redacted] on February 26, 1968)

ROBERT BARBER MOORE is a member of the Central Committee of SNCC. The SNCC is currently made up of 50 staff members, which group is the actual membership of SNCC. From the 50 staff members a 15 member Central Committee is elected and functions as the policy-making body of National SNCC.

[redacted] on June 25, 1968)

[redacted]

[redacted] on July 15, 1968)

[redacted]

[redacted] on July 19, 1968)

II. ACTIVITIES

On May 14, 1968, ROBERT MOORE, Director of the Baltimore Office of SNCC, appeared as a panelist on a panel discussion held at the Grace Methodist Church, Charles Street and Belvedere Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. The topic was "Tell It Like It Is In Baltimore." During this discussion MOORE stated that America was built on genocide of the Indian and black slave labor and has a history of mistreating black people. He said that the present day rebellions are the result of 400 years of oppression and racism in America. He said that American society respresents "institutionalized racism". He said that the school systems are run by white people; Negro housing is sub-standard; and police departments employ people who brutally attack black people. He said that although there are more police in the black neighborhoods they do not try to stop crimes against black people.

[redacted] on May 16, 1968)

On May 19, 1968, between 5:30 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. about 150 persons visited the Soul School at 522 North Fremont Avenue for the purpose of observing an African style wedding ceremony and to participate in the festivities at the school. The groom in this particular ceremony was ROBERT MOORE, Director of SNCC in Baltimore, and the bride was SHEILA LEWIS, who has been frequently seen at the SNCC office.

[redacted] on May 22, 1968)

[redacted]

[redacted] on June 3, 1968)

BA 100-23331

[redacted]

[redacted] on June 16, 1968)

On June 7, 1968, a meeting was held in the auditorium of the Northwestern High School located at Park Heights Avenue and Fallstaff Road. This meeting was attended by approximately 100 to 150 students, and it was addressed by ROBERT MOORE, Chairman of the Baltimore Chapter of SNCC, YUSEF KARRIEM (JAMES ARCHIE BOWLING) of the CORE Target City Project, and LEO ROBERTS of CORE. The program also included the playing of a record of a speech of MALCOLM X which invoked black action against the white man including violence. After the morning session of this meeting and during the luncheon period Major WILLIAM HARRIS of the Community Relations Division of the Baltimore Police Department appeared at the auditorium and ordered all individuals who were not students to leave. After calling the police a few names, the above mentioned individuals left the school. The student group continued the meeting and discussed problems of Negro students in the Baltimore School System.

[redacted] on June 13, 1968)

BOB MOORE said that the SNCC in Baltimore was working closely with the Soul School which is located at 522 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

[redacted] on July 10, 1968)

A pamphlet called "The Black Liberator", put out by the Soul School under date of June 21, 1968, which was furnished by confidential informant [redacted] on July 19, 1968, states: "The Soul School is a non-profit educational institution set up by black people. Its purpose is to enlighten black people through education

and action. It is composed of a Board of Directors and several work shops or committees. Students are urged to come to the school regularly and participate on any committee or work shop in which they have an interest. The black community both here in Baltimore and in the far-reaching corners of the black world is a thing in which we involve ourselves and study."

[redacted] advised on July 10, 1968, that ALI (LESTER VALLEY), a leader of the Soul School, stated that the real purpose of the Soul School is to be a front and carry on underground activities and overthrow the "system". He also stated that the Soul School has guns in small quantities but they are attempting to get more to be used in any type of revolutionary activities which might come about in the future.

[redacted] the Baltimore Office of SNCC is planning to open a book store which will deal entirely with the dissemination of black literature. The purpose of the book store is twofold:

(1) It will make available to the black community in Baltimore black literature and information not available through the white mass media or through existing book stores in the area.

(2) The book store will provide needed revenue for SNCC staff members in the Baltimore area.

[redacted]

[redacted] on July 15, 1968)

BOB MOORE, Director of SNCC in Baltimore, attempted to start a coalition of civil rights groups in the Baltimore area; but the coalition was unsuccessful because of personality conflicts between the leaders of the various civil rights

groups. This was MOORE's attempt to start a front like the Black United Front. The Black United Front was an idea, name included, which originated with STOKELY CARMICHAEL. The purpose was to develop a black shield for all black people and their organizations. Initially CARMICHAEL wanted it to be a coordinating body. It appears, however, that the front became a moving arm of revolution instead, involving many persons who belonged to no other group but who are clearly militant.

[redacted] on July 17, 1968)

ROBERT MOORE has stated that he wants to set up what are known as "liberation schools". These schools would operate on the same principle as does the Soul School in Baltimore. These schools would teach revolutionary tactics and methods. It is MOORE's idea that the money to set up these schools would come from profits made from the proposed book stores which MOORE intends to set up. Because the book stores have not yet been set up no Baltimore liberation school has been set up by MOORE to the best of the informant's knowledge.

[redacted] on July 17, 1968)

III. FINANCES

[redacted]

[redacted] on August 23, 1968)

BA 100-23331

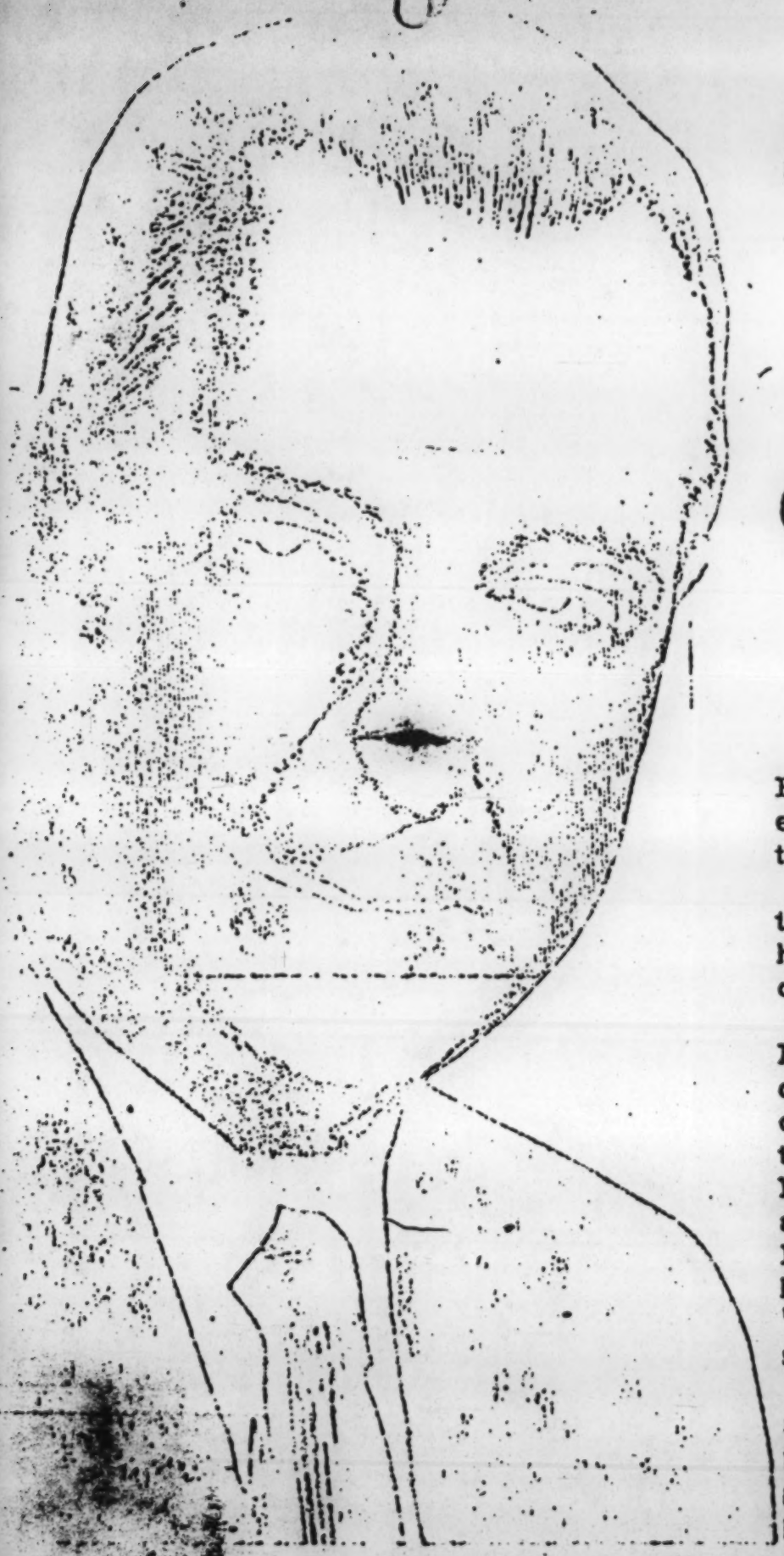
[redacted]

IV. PUBLICATIONS AND LITERATURE

On May 16, 1968, ROBERT MOORE passed out a leaflet captioned, "Our Fight is at Home", put out by NBAWADU.

[redacted] on May 17, 1968)

On August 16, 1968, confidential informant [redacted] furnished copies of three pieces of literature which he received [redacted] on August 12, 1968. Copies of this literature follow.



Agnew says,

"...KILL A LOOTER OVER A PAIR OF SHOES"

Agnew was elected governor by Black voters, but he has brutally exploited the civil rights struggle to further his own ambitions.

Agnew has openly appealed for the racist vote by insulting and harassing the leaders of the Black community.

Agnew was supposed to be "the lesser evil", but he turned out not only to be a racist but a two-faced opportunist. He framed Rap Brown to put himself in the national spot-light. On the eve of Martin Kings assassination he was arresting 200 Bowie College students. This July he told a group of Greek youth, "....kill a looter over a pair of shoes."

We had better wake up and stop marching to the polls and voting for "the lesser evil". We better get off our hands and elect our own political leaders.

Organize people in your block so that you can defend yourself against the police!

GET A GUN!!!

BLACK PEOPLE AND THEIR ENEMY

In every black neigborhood in this city you will find mad-dog policeman ready to shoot and kill one of the members of your community at the drop of a hat. Whenever a condition like this exist it needs to be taken seriously. Who will be killed next? Your brother? Your Mother? Your sister? Whenever you have an enemy right in your neigborhood, everyone in that neigborhood is in danger of losing his or her life.

The best way to prevent this is for the people in that community to organize themselves and plan ways to attack that enemy. Its either one of your friends dead or a police dead. Take your pick. I am sure you would prefer seeing those honky police lying on the ground. You know what you have to do!

It's Justifiable Homicide!

COPS AND RACIST ON THE RAMPAG

WHO WILL PROTECT US IF WE DO NO
PROTECT OURSELVES ?

OVER THE WEEKEND, RACIST COPS
KILLED AN 18 YEAR OLD BROTHER AND
WOUNDED A 14 YEAR OLD BROTHER.

ALSO OVER THE WEEKEND WHITE CIVIL
RIDING THROUGH THE BLACK COMMUNITY
AND WOUNDED A BROTHER AND A SISTE
IT COULD HAVE BEEN YOUR SISTER, Y
MOTHER, OR YOUR GIRLFRIEND.

WHO WILL PROTECT OUR WO

ARM YOURSELF
OR
HARM YOURSELF

BA 100-23331

Confidential informant [redacted] on August 20, 1968, advised that on August 17, 1968, the Soul School sponsored a Black Arts Festival which was held on the playground of the Harlem Park Junior High School. Throughout the day crowds ranging up to about 400 were entertained by various musical groups playing music for the most part associated with African culture. During the festival three pieces of literature having to do with SNCC were distributed. This literature consisted of a "Baltimore SNCC Newsletter" dated August 19, 1968, a pamphlet entitled, "It's Beautiful to be Black. Black is Beautiful", and "Racism and Revolution". Copies of this literature follows.

ORIGINAL
IN BAD
CONDITION

BEST
AVAILABLE

SR

SNCC NEWSLETTER

Price 5¢

"THE VOICE OF REVOLUTION!"

Vol. 1, No. 1 — SNCC Black Community Newspaper — AUGUST 1968

PIGS ON RAMPAGE

TSCHAKA ZULU ARRESTED

In the times of the black struggle for freedom, justice, and equality, the repression of the Established Order and it's agents becomes fiercer by the day. All over the country, these destroyers of humanity are striking at the souls of black people. However, there are those among us who think things are getting better because a few reforms have been made. To dispel these illusions of our plight, the following are instances of clear cases of repression and harassment.

On Monday, August 5, 1968, a young brother boarded a No. 37 bus marked Cherry Hill without any change. The brother thought the bus driver would be humane enough to allow him to ride since it was about 2 a.m. but the driver thought more about getting his boss's 25¢ than the welfare of another human.

Therefore, upon making his decision, this stooge signalled the cops. The racist cops (pigs) boarded the bus at Washington Blvd. and Greene Streets. These seven pigs removed the snaps from their guns. They decided that it would teach this insolent a lesson. These racist pigs pounced upon the brother by squirting Mace in his face and dragging him brutally off the bus. However, this was not enough to satisfy the lust of these pigs.

As soon as they got the brother off the bus and simultaneously receiving thirteen reinforcements, the pigs really went into their thing. They stomped the brother in the chest, choked him, shacked his legs and wrists, and like an animal carried him off to Daniel's Dan (jail).

However, this incident is nothing peculiar for this same type of harassment occurs everyday in the black community:

On August 6, the pigs attacked brother Tschaka Zulu and Tabu, another brother, on Lafayette Street. Tschaka Zulu was sitting beside the door steps to his home waiting to go for target shooting. Tschaka Zulu came out of his house and sat down in a chair and set a closed gun case behind him up against the wall. Ten pigs arrived while Tschaka Zulu was

The pigs tried to confiscate the gun case but Tachaka Zulu wouldn't allow them and gave the gun case to Tabu. Tabu carried the gun case (with the gun inside it) into the house; the pigs followed. One pig grabbed Tachaka Zulu by the bandolier which was strapped across Tachaka Zulu's chest. Tachaka Zulu shoved him away and went to Tabu's assistance. Inside Tachaka Zulu's house, in which these pigs entered without legal provocation or warrant, Tachaka Zulu and Tabu were arrested.

Tachaka Zulu and Tabu had a hearing the next day. The racist judge set a bail of $15,000 for the brothers-$5,000 a piece for possession of deadly weapons and $25 hundred a piece for assault by shoving. It is very clear that these are trumped-up charges and racial persecution.

ARM YOURSELF

OR

HARM YOURSELF

Agnew says,

"...KILL A LOOTER OVER A PAIR OF SHOES"

Agnew was elected governor by Black voters, but he has brutally exploited the civil rights struggle to further his own ambitions.

Agnew has actually appealed for the racist vote by insulting and harassing the leaders of the Black community.

Agnew was supposed to be "the lesser evil", but he turned out not only to be a racist but a two-faced opportunist. He framed Rap Brown to put himself in the national spotlight. On the eve of Martin King's assassination he was arresting 200 Bowie College students. This July he told a group of Greek youth, ". . . . kill a looter over a pair of shoes."

We had better wake up and stop marching to the polls and voting for "the lesser evil". We better get off our hands and elect our own political leaders.

Education - Community Schools

In a period of three or four months, there has been much discussion or controversary surrounding the concept of community schools. The discussion was stimulated by reactionaries and conservatives who had ulterior motives and interests which would come into danger with the success of a viable community school program. These reactionaries-city and school administrators--have implemented a pattern of obstructionism and subversion against the School-Community Relations program since the summer of 1967. They have refused to provide strong and continuous support for the community school program.

It would be beneficial for us to understand the reasons for the reaction to educational progress in a school system whose student population is 70% Black. Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, the psychologist, says the American society is willing

[illegible] public education [illegible] of the most effective ways of [illegible] the humanity of Negro children." Dr. Clark is essentially speaking against the axiom--"What is good for the goose, is good for the gander." That is, the needs of black students are very different from those of whites. And the school system must adjust to this need and reality.

We can isolate three of the main reasons for the public schools failure to meet the needs of black students,

(1) The school is an alien institution in the lives of black students and parents of the black community and there is no true participation from the community.

(2) Learning is based on the development of operational skills which do not relate to the experience and the interests of black students.

(3) Discipline is based on rules that are not applicable to the situation that exist within the black community.

The solution to assuring that Black children get a decent education, is Black control of the school system. We must not allow white people to determine what kind of education our children will receive. We must assume responsibility for the education of our children because we best understand what the needs of our children are. The reason the community schools program was obstructed so much, was because the people who run the school system knew that they would loose some of their control. If the community schools program was set up properly, it would allow for more participation of black [illegible] students and teachers in [illegible] the public schools. This is what the white powers-to be fear.

The racism in this country is constantly on the rampage, striking at the minds and hearts of our children. The reactionaries and conservatives seek to remove the tools from the hands of blacks everytime they try to help themselves. Always trying to keep blacks dependent and begging.

The city administrators cut the budget drastically for the community school program from $4 million to about $300 thousand. A figure which is lower per school than the previous year. They do this to a program which would eliminate a school system which is a "Disgrace to the community and a tragedy to the thousands of young men and women whom we compel to sit in the "schools."

Another aspect of the school system which must be negated is the bureaucracy. Dr. Clark accuses the "white control boards of education, the entrenched educational bureaucrats, principals and superintendants" for hampering the progress and improvement of the education of black students. The psychologist calls for strengthing of schools in the black community through decentralization of boards of education. This idea is being and has been implemented and introduced within community schools all over the country.

The only hope for our children to be saved from an immoral and racist society--which seems willing to destroy us because it is unwilling to accept us--is massive organization. There [illegible] group in Baltimore which is [illegible] to counteract the racism and immorality of the school system--African-Americans Concerned About Education.

"This group is composed of teachers, students, parents, and civil rights activists. For further information concerning this group call 447-7344.

THE BLACK GIANTS SPEAK

Frederick Douglass: "The whole history of the progress of human liberty, shows that all concessions yet made to her august claims, have been born of honest struggle. . .if there is no struggle, there is no progress, those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without ploughing, they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without demand, it never did and it never will . . . Men may not get all they pay for in this world, but they certainly must pay for all they get. If we are to get free from the oppression and wrongs heaped upon us, we must pay for their removal. We must do this by labor, by suffering, by sacrifice and if need be, by our lives and the lives of others".

Malcolm X: "I believe in anything that is necessary to correct unjust conditions- political, economic, social, physical; anything that's necessary. I believe in it as long as it is intelligently directed, and designed to get results."

Kwame Nkrumah: "Mr. Speaker, never in the history of the world, has an alien ruler granted self-rule to a people on a silver platter. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I say that a peoples' readiness and willingness to assume the responsibilities of self rule is the single criteron of their preparedness to undertake those responsibilities."

Claude McKay: "We must meet the common foe: though far out numbered, let us still be brave, and for their thousand blows, deal one death blow! What? though before us lies the open grave. Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack, pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting."

Margaret Walker: "Neither the slaves' whip nor the lynchers' rope nor the bayonet could kill our black belief."

BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL

SOCIETY of AFRO-AMERICAN STUDENTS

ORIGINAL
IN BAD
CONDITION

BEST
AVAILABLE

SR

WHO ARE THE REAL OUTLAWS

Brothers and Sisters;

White people are saying that the uprisings of our people in almost 100 American cities, "must be conspiracy." Where is the real conspiracy? Black people across this country have known that the real conspiracy in this country is to run us out, keep us down, or kill us, if we don't act like the honky wants us to act.

We're fighting for our survial and for this, we are called criminals, outlaws and murderes. Who are the real criminals? Who stole us from Africa? Who has been stealing our labor those past 400 years to build this country? Who are the real murderes? Why don't they call the police who gun us down in the streets every day, all year round,...why don't they call them murderers?

Why don't they call Lyndon Johnson a murderer and an outlaw? He fights an illegal war with our brothers and our sons. He sends them to fight against other colored people who are fighting for their freedom.

Who are the real outlaws in this country? They say I am an outlaw.. I am charged with inciting black people to "riot". It is against the "law" to roit. But did you or I have any say in passing this law? Do we have much of a say in any of the laws passed in this country? I consider myself neither morally nor legally bound to they laws which were made by a group of white "lawmakers" who do not let my people be represented in making those laws.

That government which makes laws that you and I are supposed to obey, without-letting us be a part of that government... is an illegal government. The men who pass those laws are outlaws the police who enforce those laws are outlaws and murderers.

It should be understandable that we, as black people, should adopt the attitude that we are neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws which were not made with our consent and which seek to keep us down and keep us in our place. Nor can we be expected to have confidence in the whiteman's court which interprets and enforces those laws. The white man makes all the laws, he drags us before his courts, he accuses us, and he sits in judgement over us.

White America should not fool itself into believing that if it comes down harder on us...that will keep us from doing what we believe is right. History has shown that when a man's conscience is aroused, when a man really believes what he is doing, threats of jail and death do not turn that man back. The threat of jail or death will not turn me nor others like me from the path we have taken.

We stand on the eve of a black revolution. These rebellions are but a dress rehersal for real revolution. For to men, freedom in their own land is the pinnacle of their ambitions, and nothing can turn men aside who have convictoin and a strong sense of freedom.

More powerful than my fear of what could happen to me in prison is my hatred for what happens to my people in those outside prison called black ghettoes of this country. I hate the practice of race discrimination, and in my hatred, I am supported by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind hate it equally. There is nothing any court can do to me that will change that hatred in me; it can only be changed by the removal of the racism and inhumanity which exists in this country.

A society which can mount a huge military action against a black youth who breaks a window, and at the same time pleads that it is powerless to protect black youths who are being murdered each year because they seek to make democracy in America a reality...is a sick, criminal and insane society. They talk about violence in the country's streets! Where are the Troops?

Each time a black body is found in the swamps of Mississipoi or Alabama, that is violence on our land! Where are those murderes!

Each time black human rights workers are refused protection by the government, that is anarchy.

Each time a police officer shoots and kills a black teen-ager, that is urban crime! Where is the national leader who will [illegible] and condemn police crime.

Black people see America for what it is. It is clear now that white America cannot condemn itself...cannot see the reality of its crimes against mankind. We see America and we recognize our course or rebel.

July, 1967

h guns to put down the [illegible] that gives the [illegible] the perfect [illegible] move in on the black community - to [illegible] a race war. That [illegible] rise of fascism. You [illegible] the police [illegible] right to do whatever they want, legally.

"CAN'T DROP OUT"

[illegible] YOU SEE THE POSSIBILITY OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCES ARISING OUTSIDE [illegible] BLACK COMMUNITY?

My position on that is this: We are prepared to fight, and if [illegible]ere is anybody to fight with us, well and good. If not, if we [illegible]ve to fight them, then we'll fight them. I'm not aware of revolu-[illegible]onary elements in the white community, but if revolutionary people [illegible]ise then they can be used in revolutionary struggle.

[illegible]AT ABOUT WHITE STUDENTS AND WHITE YOUTH GENERALLY, SOME OF [illegible] [illegible]OM APPEAR TO BE DEVELOPING GREATER POLITICAL AWARENESS?

I think some white people are oppressed and may drop out, but [illegible]y also drop back in. That's the whole thing with the hippie [illegible]vement. Black people can't drop out. We've always been out, so [illegible]re's nothing to talk about dropping in. White people have to [illegible]cide whether they're for human rights or the political rights [illegible] a country.

I can give you an example of exploited becoming exploiter - [illegible]nny and Cher. When Sonny and Cher were down and out, they were [illegible]gular people. But once they got into a position to exploit, they [illegible] so.

[illegible]uldn't THE SAME THING BE SAID ABOUT SOME BLACK STUDENTS?

Yeah, and I'm going to be very specific - James Brown. I think [illegible]'s pulling one of the biggest boot-licking jobs in the country [illegible]day. He's selling out black people. If James Brown keeps declaring [illegible] allegiance to the country and not to the black community then [illegible]ack people have to purge him and his music from the [illegible] com-[illegible]nity. His latest record (America is MY Home) is an example of [illegible]at I mean, and going down there fraternizing with (Vice President) [illegible]umphrey, I mean he's going to have to choose sides. If he supports [illegible]mphrey then he does not support the black community whether he [illegible]alizes it or not.

"LOTS OF WALLACES"

[illegible]AT IS SNCC'S POSITION ON THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION?

I think it's irrevelant. I don't see but one candidate running [illegible]d that's George Wallace, and a whole lot of other Wallaces by [illegible]fferent names. It's a farce, And Black people should disassociate [illegible]omselves totally from it. There's no choice. We have to be pre[illegible]red to fight anybody who gets in.

[illegible]AT ABOUT INDEPENDANT CANDIDATES AND PARTIES?

The only way we can use the vote is to organize our people to [illegible] themselves from both parties. To create a third party in the [illegible]lief that you can participate in the monolithic politics of this [illegible]ntry is a deception. The vote can be used only to organize black [illegible]ple to make aware that the system doesn't work and prepare them [illegible] further revolutionary struggle.

[illegible]S EVERAL POINTS IN THIS INTERVIEW YOU'VE USED THE TERM "REVOLU-[illegible]ONARY STRUGGLE." WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

Revolution occurs in an evolutionary process. What is revolu-[illegible]onary today may very well not be revolutionary tomorrow. The non-[illegible]lent movement was a revolutionary struggle at some point but it [illegible]ased to be after it was replaced by something else. The mass [illegible]ellions were part of revolutionary struggle, but this is not to [illegible] interpreted as revolution. The revolution comes as a result of [illegible]y phases, or steps of revolutionary struggle. The ultimate phase [illegible] revolutionary struggle is armed confrontation and victory.

[illegible] think through the struggle to end oppression, people will become political enough to develop ideologies.

It is, however, very real to discuss things that are denied black people as a result of oppression. Vanguard groups can talk about ideology, but I don't know what they say is correct. Because a cat occupies a vanguard position doesn't mean that he has a monopoly on truth. Leaders can talk about ideology, and that may inspire them, but it doesn't insure struggle among the masses of people.

SLOGAN CO-OPTED

YOU MENTIONED THAT THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION IS ENOUGH AND I QUESTION THIS. FOR EXAMPLE, SOME PEOPLE DEFINE BLACK POWER AS BLACK P[illegible]. CONTROL OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY, BUT THEY DON'T SPELL OUT WHO IS TO CONTROL OR IN WHOSE INTEREST.

It is unreal to talk about black people controlling their own communities unless they control the whole country. As long as the man controls the water or electricity coming into your community it does you no good to control that community. And to control the community in a capitalistic way, like the man, is not desirable. I think the real issue goes way beyond this idea of geographic control.

The slogan black power has been co-opted. You have white politicians talking about the virtues of black power and Kennedy was even running around giving people the black power handshake. We've beyond that.

WHERE HAVE WE MOVED TO?

People have to address themselves to struggle. I interpreted Dr. King's death as a rise of fascism in the country - I contend he was executed.

What happens now is that you have two conceptions of power exposed towards each other. You have white folks on this hand and black folks on the other hand, and the stronger force wins. There's nothing in between. You see, Dr. King had a large moral following in the white communities, democratic and foreign. So when you eliminate Dr. King you set up a confrontation between these two groups and the police can then come down on the black community in the name of preventing a race war. The police can legitimize this repression by saying that they're dealing with the violent element, the element that's talking about anarchy.

I think this can be coupled with the riot commision report. This report gives two very distinct solutions to what is considered a problem in this country. They say you can either address the grievances of black people by legislation and pouring in money, or you can move toward a garrison state. Everybody looked at the first solution (but you don't see any legislation). I always examine the other position. There's an estimated 39 concentration camps in this country. I was in one in Petersburg, Va. - a federal prison camp. What are these camps being prepared for? They ain't bringing no Vietcong prisoners home. The Indians are on reservations. Ho and Carmichael can't fill 39 camps.

This is a dangerous situation for black people. The man is scared true enough, but that's when he's most dangerous, because he knows black people can disrupt this country. So he must increase his repression.

I contend that the only reason they didn't shoot black people after Dr. King was killed and black people went in the streets is that the man was getting them up. And that was a riot. There's no way in the world I can called that political, especially Washington, D.C. That was the most apolitical demonstration since the March on Washington. Here is the most strategic city in the country and they didn't even move strategically. The man crystallized in black people's minds that they can go out and take what they want during rebellions. What better way to catch a horse - don't get [illegible]

I don't think the [illegible] control black people. To some degree it [illegible] black people. I think [illegible] still a leaderless movement at this [illegible]. People respond to [illegible] ideologies and certain individuals, but that's not to say that these individuals are the leaders of the movement.

I'm the Chairman of [illegible] and my position is to articulate the sentiments of black people because that's the community I came from. I do it because the organization has a public forum, not because I do it better than other brothers. I don't think it can be done better than Detroit. But in terms of leaders, the masses of people will choose their leaders.

WHERE IS THE ORGANIZED MOVEMENT HEADED ON A NATIONAL LEVEL?

I think the same repression that will force the masses into a body will also forge the different black groups into a body. At this point I'm not going to say that the so-called vanguard groups in the movement are politically correct. I'm not going to say that a lot of these groups are even moving in the right political direction. They are going to come together out of necessity as repression increases.

IN YOUR VIEW, WHAT IS THE RIGHT POLITICAL DIRECTION?

TO begin with, I don't think we can address ourselves to traitional politics because this is irrevelant to black people. The only politics relevant to black people is the politics of revolution. The politics of culture is not in itself revolution.

I don't we should be concerned with redefining culture at this point. To be black is not to be revolutionary. Every Negro is not a potential black man. Every Negro is a potential traitor, and every black man is only a potential revoltionary - with emphasis on "potential." To be black is not an end in itself, and black people will have to move away this kind of thinking.

You see, when you begin to stress culture you have to remember that when you examine any revolutionary country you'll find that the cultural revolution has never come before actual armed confrontation before a contest for power was raised. I'm not saying that in terms of consciousness, it's not important that black people know who they are, but to put emphasis on being black, emphasis on culture at this stage of the game is not to be revolutionary. People can become so hooked up in their cultureand their egos so inflated about being black that they have no desire to fight.

Vanguard groups can't afford to go around talking about stressing culture because the real test right now is preparation for struggle and the initiation of that struggle. This is my position.

LAST YEAR YOU SAID IT WAS NO ACCIDENT THAT MANY OF THE NEWLY LIBERATED COUNTRIES ADDRESSED THEMSELVES TO SOME FORM OF SOCIALISM. DO YOU THINK THE SAME WILL HAPPEN IN THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE.

I don't see any working example of socialism, [illegible] or any ideology that's desirable for black people in this [illegible] because of racism. Socialism, especially when it's white [illegible], can foster just as much racism as anything else. Socialism and Marxism deals with exploitation but not with racism.

An ideology to deal with racism still has to be created, and it has to be created by the masses of people.

COULD YOU SAY WHAT THE ELEMENTS OF THIS NEW IDEOLOGY MIGHT BE?

As I said, I have seen no working example of this type of ideology, and I don't think that we can sit down and write it out. People begin to forge an ideology through revolutionary struggle. Ideologies develop, not before, but as a result of revolutionary [illegible]

YOU'LL [illegible] AND [illegible] ORGANIZATION. DO YOU [illegible] BLACK PEOPLE ARE READY FOR THIS IN [illegible] OF ORGANIZING YOU AND [illegible] NATION?

I think what happens in terms of organization for confrontation is that this is forced upon the masses of people. Masses of people are never ready for armed confrontation. You have to get that out of your mind. Masses of people are never organized; they're not even organizable. What happens is that as repression increases people do things to survive. As the repression increases in this country, that's going to force black people together. Now we have done (when I say "we" I mean people who've been out front talking to the masses of people) this. We have raised what's known as the level of consciousness of black people as to the problem. That's as much as we can do. In other words, the man is going to have to come down on people before they really realize. They're going to have to have to wake up one morning and smell shoe polish on their breath to know the man's foot is up their ass. That's what will have to happen. Before any revolutionary struggle the last phase of organizing - on a mass basis - is done by the repression, is done by the oppressor. There's nothing more we can do until that point is reached. Now we can organize small groups, but in terms of the masses of people, they must react to the repression. We have raised the consciousness so that they will be able to decide what to do.

MAKE THE MAN JUMP

HOW WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE THE LEVEL OF CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG BLACK PEOPLE TODAY?

Consciousness has to be distinguished from revolutionary attitude. The level of consciousness has been raised so that black people are in a state of rebellion. But rebellion is not to be confused with revolution. Black people around the country now recognize that they have a vehicle that can make this man jump. It's like a kid with a toy. In other words, we can make the motherfucker jump by putting the electrodes to his balls and we want to see how high we can make him jump. This is where black people are at. I don't think you can expect revolutionary action from the masses of people until repression becomes so great that it affects each individual.

BUT ISN'T THERE SOME POLITICAL CONTENT IN THE REBELLIONS?

I view revolution as an evolutionary type of thing. Revolution comes in stages or steps. Rebellions are a legitimate part of the steps toward revolutionary struggle, but they are not revolutions. We cannot be content in rebelling. We must move from revolt to revolution. Actually, at this point now, it's dangerous for masses of black people to go in the streets. This plays into the man's hands. I don't think it's desirable or advisable for rebellions, where masses of people go into the streets, to occur anymore.

WHAT ALTERNATIVE WOULD YOU PROPOSE?

Cadres of people who have political knowledge and technical skills must begin to execute revolutionary struggle in this country on behalf of the masses of people. People like myself - I'm too visible - I'm under surveillance every day.

One of the things you brought up in your article (Guardian, May 25), which I've also spoken about, concerns the visibility of people. It's unnecessary, at this point, that everybody wear naturals, unless the masses wear naturals. I can do it because I'm already visible, but to the young brother just coming up it's not necessary. It's what's in your head, not what's on your head. And once a cat grows a natural, the man recognizes him as political whether he is or not. If the man were to fence off Harlem, he wouldn't have any trouble picking out the people who are potentially dangerous to him, because the majority of the political people, in the sense of struggle, wear naturals. People have to move away from this and recognize that a revolutionary is not defined by his physical characteristics.

of their contentions. I react to the intent and that intent is to silence me. America is operating on the principle that if you can't convert a man, you get to silence him. But she has failed in her attempt to both silence me and convert me. You know, in her attempt to silence me when she puts me in jail, she just creates another forum. I can talk to brothers in jail who are more political than people on the streets, brothers who know what has to be done. In her attempt to convert me, that's hopeless because I see America for what it is. It's another Germany. It's the Fourth Reich. America makes Hitler's and Germany's records look good.

It is because of America's racism that black people and colored people around the world are oppressed. Throughout history black people who spoke out against America and her racism have been subjected to exile, assassination, murder, or imprisonment. So what happened to me is nothing new or different. Justice is a joke in this country for black people, and it stinks of its hypocrisy. Justice in this country means "just-us white folks." Black people must understand that there is no redress of grievances in the court but only in the streets, through armed guerilla action.

The only reason that I'm willing to go before the racist courts is that it's an educational process for black people. Black people should learn from my experiences. In other words, every black man shouldn't have to go before a judge to know what I'm experiencing. I was glad in Louisiana because the courtroom was filled with black people, young black brothers and sisters every day. And they learned, man, because legally we beat the government on the first day. We made a motion to have racist Judge Mitchell dismissed from the case because of prejudicial statements he made against me during some of the bond hearings we had before. The motion was made to him, and he said, "Yeah, I'm prejudiced against him, but I'm not gonna dismiss myself."

LEARN FROM VIETNAM

Black people must begin to learn from what is happening in Vietnam. When there is no redress of grievances, when government becomes the lawbreaker, then people must become the law enforcers. We

Racism and Revolution

H. Rap Brown

Interview between National Guardian staff writer, Robert Allen and H. Rap Brown; reprinted from The National Guardian, June 15, 1968

Student Nonviolent Coordinatin Committee
100 Fifth Avenue, Rm. #803
New York, New York 10011

Donation 50¢

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STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Hairon Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Director and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

FT-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Baltimore, Maryland

August 28, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference Baltimore report dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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FD-263 (Rev. 12-19-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
BALTIMORE	ATLANTA	11/29/68	11/18-27/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE	SA [redacted]	csm

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - SNCC

REFERENCE:

Baltimore report of SA [redacted] dated 8/28/68.

-P*-

[redacted]

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

Copies of this report are being furnished locally to the 109th MI GP, NISO, and OSI, Baltimore.

This report is classified confidential since unauthorized disclosure of information furnished by [redacted] and [redacted] could result in the compromise of sources of continuing value and reduce their future effectiveness.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					☒ NONE	ACQUITTALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

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Identity	Location
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[redacted]	Instant report
[redacted]	100-23331-483
[redacted]	Instant report
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	Instant report
[redacted]	100-23331
[redacted]	100-23331-507

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AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Will continue to follow and report the activities of SNCC.

C*
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 4 - 109th MI GP, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
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Report of: SA [redacted] Office: BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
Date: NOVEMBER 29, 1968

Field Office File #: 100-23331 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: ROBERT MOORE continues as Director of the Baltimore Office of SNCC located at 432 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. Informants advise that there has been practically no public activity on the part of SNCC in Baltimore, although ROBERT MOORE has participated in some activities with other groups. [redacted] Informants advise that Baltimore Office of SNCC is in poor financial condition [redacted]. No new literature emanating from Baltimore SNCC received.

-P*-

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is appended hereto.

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

A. Headquarters

The SNCC maintains an office at 432 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

CONFIDENTIAL [redacted] on November 18, 1968; on November 26, 1968)

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

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☆ U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1967—O—272-878

B. Staff

ROBERT BARBER MOORE continues to be Director of the SNCC in Baltimore.

[redacted] on November 18, 1968; on November 26, 1968)

ROBERT BARBER MOORE is a member of the Central Committee of SNCC. The SNCC is currently made up of 50 staff members, which group is the actual membership of SNCC. From the 50 staff members, a 15 member Central Committee is elected and functions as the policy-making body of National SNCC.

[redacted] on June 25, 1968)

[redacted]

RUDOLF LEWIS, a student at Morgan State College, has been seen in the SNCC office from time to time.

[redacted] on November 26, 1968)

II. ACTIVITIES

A. Local

Between 8:00 p.m. and 9:40 p.m. on September 12, 1968, a group of about 700 persons attended a citizens rally at the Dunbar High School, Baltimore, Maryland. The principal reason for the rally was to bring to the attention of the Baltimore Board of School Commissioners and to city officials the need for a new Dunbar High School, which was described as a black school in a basically black community. Among the persons recognized at this meeting was ROBERT MOORE, Director of the Baltimore Office of SNCC. There was no information indicating that MOORE took an active part in this meeting.

[redacted] on September 13, 1968)

A source received information that a black militant faction in Baltimore, including participants from the Soul School, the Black Panther Party (BPP), the SNCC, and the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), intended to coordinate their efforts to protest the firing of JOHN O. HOPKINS, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, who is a Negro.

[redacted] on September 23, 1968)

Characterizations of the Soul School and the BPP are appended hereto.

On the evening of September 25, 1968, and continuing until 1:35 a.m. on September 26, 1968, the Board of School Commissioners, Baltimore, Maryland, conducted a public hearing in the auditorium at Douglass High School concerning the proposed dismissal of Assistant Superintendent of Schools JOHN O. HOPKINS. There were approximately 1100 spectators present. During the time that the hearing was in progress, many black militants in the audience shouted their disapproval of the charges against HOPKINS, which were being read by City Solicitor GEORGE RUSSELL. Among the black militants noted at this hearing was ROBERT MOORE, head of the Baltimore Office of SNCC.

[redacted] on September 30, 1968)

SNCC in Baltimore has engaged in no organized activity of a public nature during the past three months although ROBERT MOORE has been present during activities related to School Board meetings.

[redacted] on November 18, 1968;
on November 20, 1968;
on November 27, 1968)

B. Meeting of SNCC Central Committee, Baltimore, Maryland, October 26-30, 1968

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[redacted]

[redacted] on October 23, 1968)

On October 29, 1968, information was received from confidential informant [redacted] that certain individuals believed to be connected with the Central Committee of SNCC were seen in the vicinity of 433 East 25th Street, Baltimore, Maryland. During a spot surveillance by a Special Agent of the FBI it was noted that about 13 males and 1 female were seen to either enter or leave the basement entrance of this building at various times between approximately 12:00 noon and 5:00 p.m.

A meeting of some of the top leaders of SNCC was apparently held at 433 East 25th Street, Baltimore, Maryland, on October 29, 1968. The meeting was of a very secret nature.

[redacted] on October 30, 1968)

[redacted]

[redacted] on November 5, 1968)

[redacted]

BA 100-23331

[redacted]

[redacted] on November 6, 1968)

[redacted]

[redacted] on November 13, 1968)

III. FINANCES

The financial situation of the SNCC office in Baltimore is very poor.

[redacted] on November 18, 1968;
on November 26, 1968;
on November 27, 1968)

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] on November 27, 1968)

[redacted]

IV. PUBLICATIONS AND LITERATURE

Informants and sources have furnished no literature emanating from the SNCC Office at Baltimore which has not previously been reported.

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF - DEFENSE (BPPSD)

A source advised that the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in Oakland, California, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, to determine the destiny of black communities, and to educate black people in African history. The political philosophy of the organization was taken from the writings of MAO TSE-TUNG of Communist China and black militant writers.

The official BPPSD publication "The Black Panther - Black Community News Service" indicates the leadership of the BPPSD advocates the use of [illegible] and [illegible] tactics in the violent revolutionary program to end oppression and to oppose the drafting of black men to fight in Vietnam.

A second source advised that in early 1967, SEALE, NEWTON, and their associates carried carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view on the streets of Oakland and elsewhere while on "defense patrols."

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE was one of the persons arrested by the Sacramento, California Police Department on May 2, 1967, when members of the BPPSD invaded the California State Legislative Assembly in Sacramento while in session, carrying loaded guns to protest restrictions on the carrying of guns.

A Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, California, on November 13, 1967, indicted HUEY PERCY NEWTON on charge of murder of an Oakland, California police officer on October 28, 1967, in Oakland, California.

The first source advised that the headquarters office of the BPPSD at 5627 Grove Street, Oakland, California, is closed and that no membership meetings have been held since August, 1967.

The November 4, 1967, issue of "The Sun Reporter," a San Francisco, California Negro community newspaper, states that a HUEY PERCY NEWTON defense fund has been established and that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) through the National offices have pledged their complete and continuous support to the defense of HUEY PERCY NEWTON.

APPENDIX

SOUL SCHOOL
Also Known As the Society of United Liberators, Incorporated

On July 19, 1968, a source advised that the Soul School located at 522 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland, is not connected with any other institution in Baltimore City. All Soul School members have Arabic or African names and are forbidden to drink alcoholic beverages, use dope, or eat pork.

The source advised that the aim of the members is to teach the Negro about himself and build a nation for black men in America separate from the white race. Obtaining all land below the 40 degree parallel line of the United States for a black nation is the goal of the members, at any cost. The school is militant and it preaches militancy to black people. The uniting of all black people is the top theme. The members include both sexes, and courses in African culture are a major requirement of the school.

On July 19, 1968, the source furnished a pamphlet called "The Black Liberator," published by the Soul School, Baltimore, Maryland, and dated June 21, 1968. The pamphlet states, "The Soul School is a non-profit educational institution set up by black people. Its purpose is to enlighten black people through education and action. Students are urged to come to the school regularly and participate on any committee or work shop in which they have an interest. The black community both here in Baltimore and in the far-reaching corners of the black world is a thing in which we involve ourselves and study."

On July 10, 1968, a second source advised that LESTER VALLEY, a leader of the Soul School, stated that the real purpose of the Soul School is to be a front and carry on underground activities and over-throw the "system." He also stated that the Soul School has guns in small quantities, but they are attempting to get more to be used in any type of revolutionary activities which might come about in the future.

On September 12, 1968, the first source advised that the Soul School continues to function at 522 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

APPENDIX X

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to [illegible] year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

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In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

APPENDIX

X

10*

FD-23 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Baltimore, Maryland

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

November 29, 1968

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING CO[redacted]

Reference: Baltimore report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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ORIGINAL
IN BAD
CONDITION

BEST
AVAILABLE

SR

FD-263 (Rev.-12-[illegible]-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
BALTIMORE	ATLANTA	4/[illegible]/69	4/21 - 2[illegible]/69

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE	S[redacted]	bs

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS-SNCC

[redacted]

REFERENCE: Baltimore report of S[redacted] dated 11/29/68.

-C-

[illegible]

Copies of this report are being furnished locally to the intelligence agencies for information purposes.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					☒ NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☒ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☒ NO

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, ~~MIC~~, OSI, ~~SEC. SERV.~~
Request Recd.	~~[illegible]~~: ISD, CRD, RAO, [illegible]
Date Fwd.	HOW FORW: NS
How Fwd.	DATE FORW: 5/6/69
By	BY: [illegible]

Notations

[illegible] SEC.

cc - [illegible]

55 MAY 12 1969

COVER PAGE

GPO : 1968 O - 299-[illegible]

NA 100-23331

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

This report is being classified "confidential" because data furnished by [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of a confidential informant of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

In view of the fact that SNCC in Baltimore has engaged in no organized activity of a public nature since the summer of 1968, and informants state since January, 1969, SNCC has been dissolved in Baltimore, this case is being placed [illegible]

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	Location
[redacted]	Instant Report [redacted]
[redacted]	Instant Report
[redacted]	100-23331-510,[illegible] [illegible]
[redacted]	Instant Report

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ORIGINAL

IN BAD

CONDITION

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AVAILABLE

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FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 4 - 109th Military Group, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - MISC, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - OSI, Baltimore (Registered Mail)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
Date: APRIL 18, 1960

Field Office File #: 100-22331 Bureau File #: 100-439101

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Office, which was located at 832 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland, is now closed. Informants advise there has been no public activity on the part of SNCC in Baltimore since the summer of 1959, and as of January, 1960, SNCC has been dissolved in Baltimore.

DETAILS:

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

A. Headquarters

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), maintained an office at 832 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. This office is no longer open.

[redacted] on April 16, 1960; on April 18, 1960)

A characterization of SNCC is appended hereto.

B. Staff

[redacted] was the director of SNCC in Baltimore.

[redacted] on April 16, 1960; on April 18, 1960)

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

CONFIDENTIAL

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A [illegible]

[illegible] is a member of the Central Committee of SNCC. SNCC is currently made up of fifty staff members, which group is the actual membership of SNCC. From the fifty staff members, a fifteen member Central Committee is elected and functions as the policy-making body of the national SNCC.

[redacted] on June 25, 1960)

[redacted]

[redacted] on March [illegible], 1960)

II. [illegible]

During a class held at the Soul School, 522 North Fremont Street, Baltimore, Maryland, on December 17, 1963, it was brought out that SNCC has either gone out of business or is going out. Many of the people formerly associated with SNCC are now showing up at the Soul School.

[redacted] on December [illegible], 1963)

A characterization of the Soul School is appended hereto.

As of January, 1964, SNCC is no longer functioning in Baltimore.

[redacted] on January [illegible], 1969)

SNCC in Baltimore has engaged in no organized activity of a public nature since the summer of 1968. In January, 1969, the SNCC office in Baltimore closed down. There has been no SNCC activity in Baltimore since that time.

[redacted] on April [illegible], [illegible];
on April [illegible], [illegible])

SOUL SCHOOL
Also Known As the Society of United
Liberators, Incorporated

On July 19, 1968, a source advised that the Soul School located at 522 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland, is not connected with any other institution in Baltimore City. All Soul School members have Arabic or African names and are forbidden to drink alcoholic beverages, use dope, or eat pork.

[illegible] source advised that [illegible] members is to teach the Negro about himself and build a nation for black men in America separate from the white race. Obtaining all land below the 40 degree parallel line of the United States for a black nation is the goal of the members, at any cost. The school is militant and it preaches militancy to black people. The uniting of all black people is the top theme. The members include both sexes, and courses in African culture are a major requirement of the school.

On July 19, 1968, the source furnished a pamphlet called "The Black Liberator," published by the Soul School, Baltimore, Maryland, and dated June 21, 1968. The pamphlet states, "The Soul School is a non-profit educational institution set up by black people. Its purpose is to enlighten black people through education and action. Students are urged to come to the school regularly and participate on any committee or work shop in which they have an interest. The black community both here in Baltimore and in the far-reaching corners of the black world is a thing in which we involve ourselves and study."

On July 10, 1968, a second source advised that LESTER VALLEY, a leader of the Soul School, stated that the real purpose of the Soul School is to be a front and carry on underground activities and over-throw the "system." He also stated that the Soul School has guns in small quantities, but they are attempting to get more to be used in any type of revolutionary activities which might come about in the future.

On September 12, 1968, the first source advised that the Soul School continues to function at 522 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

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CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Baltimore, Maryland [illegible]
April 29, 1[illegible]

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-23931

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

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